A Sociocultural Analysis of Cambodian Teachers' Cognitions about Cultural Contents in an 'Internationally Imported' Textbook in a Tertiary English Learning Context

Sovannarith Lim and Chan Narith Keuk

Abstract The ASEAN economic community shapes the status of English not only for Cambodia but also for the whole region, pragmatically making it a lingua franca, bringing to the attention of ELT practitioners the role of (multi)cultural knowledge and communication. Premised on this position, our study sought to explore how a group of Cambodian teachers of English in a tertiary context conceptualised the language and how their conceptualisations were intertwined with their approaches to teaching, giving rise to—or otherwise—promoting cultural knowledge through their uses of 'internationally imported' textbooks. Our analysis of the teachers' interviews and documents framed within a sociocultural approach to learning (Vygotsky, LS, Mind in society. The development of higher psychological processes. In: Cole M, John-Steiner V, Scribner S, Souberman E (eds). Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1978; Wertsch JV, Voices of the mind. A sociocultural approach to mediated action. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1985) showed that the received status of English as a foreign language was upheld by the teachers who defined their teaching goals strictly related to enhancing the students' test-taking performance and linguistic competence while the teachers consciously decided to ignore the cultural contents contained in the textbooks they used. The teachers' decision to do so also stemmed from their reported limited knowledge about the 'target language' culture itself. To capture the complexity of the teachers' cognitions about cultural aspects and their conceptions of (the status of) English in their practice, we interpret our findings within the sociocultural and socio-political situations of the present study's context. For practical reasons, based on our findings, we contend that ELT materials should contain cultural values that are situated—but which require changing practitioners' conceptualisation of the evolving status of English in their own context.

S. Lim (✉)
Regional Teacher Training Centre, Phnom Penh, Cambodia
e-mail: sovannarith.lim@unswalumni.com

C.N. Keuk
Royal University of Phnom Penh, Phnom Penh, Cambodia

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1 Introduction

As English language communications abound all over the world, concerns intensify around (inter)cultural competence in today's multilingual communication. In the last few decades, we have seen debates on how the English language should be taught and learnt in non-native English speaker (NNES) environments. One of the discussion domains deals with how English language teaching (ELT) materials could be developed to help enhance the seemingly much needed (inter)cultural competence to be found on the part of the English learners. To tailor to the demand for high cultural and linguistic competence in the NNES countries such as Cambodia, a particular focus is directed to the contents of ELT materials and how they are realised by their users, particularly the teachers themselves. For the former focus, questions are raised as to whether ELT materials should contain cultural and moral aspects, and if they should, are they those of the native English speaker (NES) or those of the NNES? For the latter, on the other hand, the questions are directed towards how the teachers make their decisions to tackle the cultural contents represented in the textbooks they use for their ELT classroom.

These questions essentially presuppose the roles of culture or cultural aspects in language education. However, as is shown below, this issue appears contentious amongst scholars, researchers, and teachers alike. For instance, for some, NNES learners should learn the language so that they can use it to express their own culture, continuing to carry their own morality (Modiano 2001), a concept taken up in this chapter to be subsumed within the concept of culture (see below). This position promotes the role of learner cultures in language learning. For others, however, it is essential that language learners learn the target language cultural and moral values for them to communicate effectively in that language. This position elevates the role of the NES cultures (See for example Hall, 2011, for a discussion on this issue). More specific to the current chapter, within the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) framework, Kirkpatrick (2010b, 2011) argues for the adoption of a multilingual model for language classrooms in multicultural and multilingual countries such as ASEAN countries or the ASEAN region itself that will use English as the official language of communication (ASEAN 2008). This proposal entails the incorporation of the local NNES cultural and moral values (including the "Englishes" used in this region) into the ELT materials, effectively (however implicit) devaluing the culture of the so-called 'native speaker.' This multicultural and multilingual position advocates the promotion of the learner cultures and those of the NNES that form the socio-political environments for the local contexts within which the acts of teaching, learning, and using the language take place. This is a position we adopted in the conduct of our study. Premising on the current status of English for ASEAN, we aim to investigate how a group of practising Cambodian teachers of English

perceived its status for their working context and how such perceptions interrelated with their decisions to embody, or otherwise, the practice of cultural education. Our overall aim is to raise the awareness of all concerned ELT stakeholders in the Cambodian tertiary context about the evolving status of English in the country and the region and how such a sociolinguistic and sociocultural change could affect the local practice of ELT and subsequently its socioeconomic growth. We prioritise the tertiary context because, despite its more immediate relationships (compared to the primary and secondary contexts) to the socioeconomic growth, little research in this domain has ever been conducted.

We approached the issues of cultural education in the present context from a sociocultural theoretical perspective of learning (Vygotsky 1978; Wertsch 1985), which emphasises that learning, or in this case teachers' cognitions, is essentially shaped by the social, historical and cultural contexts of their work and lives. Consequently, we need to problematise the (practice of) ELT in contemporary Cambodian tertiary educational contexts as it, through classroom textbook materials, continues to adopt the NES model (discussed below)—a practice that we put forth as going against the emerging socio-political and sociolinguistic situations in the country and the ASEAN region as a whole. Following this problematisation, we report on a group of Cambodian teachers' experiences and difficulties that they reported they had encountered, dealing with cultural contents embedded in their teaching materials. We discuss our findings in relation to the current sociocultural contexts of Cambodia and ASEAN by juxtaposing teachers' conceptions of the status of English with their cognitions about cultural education in their teaching situations.

2 Problematising the ELT in Cambodian Tertiary Education

In Cambodia, at least in its tertiary educational systems, it is observed that the main materials used in ELT classrooms are the so-called 'internationally imported' textbooks such as the *Progressive Skills in English Series* by Garnet Education and the *New Headway Series* by Oxford University Press. These textbooks are generally known to have been developed by NES authors and publishers and, to a considerable extent, contain the NES cultural values, the type of textbooks that Gray (2000) refers to as cultural artefacts. In this chapter, this type of materials is referred to as the 'NES materials.' To fully account for the popularity of this type of textbook in Cambodia, one needs to trace its historical development,[1] a task that cannot be accomplished here given the space economy. Nevertheless, a brief sketch of such a history can be provided.

English language education in Cambodia has grown remarkably in the last few decades since it was re-established in the late 1980s. At its commencement, English language education was managed with poor conditions in terms of human, material, and financial resources. The Cambodian teachers who had a previous English learning background, despite their lack of pedagogical training, taught those who did not know English at all (Keuk 2009; Neau 2003; Pit and Roth 2003). The selection of the textbooks for instruction was based on individual teachers' preferences

and textbook availability, the latter being the NES materials. This ELT practice was characterised as "not standardized" (Neau 2003, p. 264).

The Cambodian Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MOEYS) and other international aid projects or agencies, such as the Quaker Service Australia (QSA), Canberra/International Development Program (IDP) of Australia, Cambodian Secondary English Teaching Project (CAMSET) sponsored by the British government, and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) program have endeavoured to improve the ELT situations in Cambodia through teacher training programs and ELT materials development in the country. Certain Cambodian ELT materials, for example the *English for Cambodia Series* by the CAMSET project, were developed in such a way as to incorporate both the local and the NES cultural values into the lesson units. The materials are particularly available for secondary education levels in the public sector. However, the books themselves are currently awaiting their replacement with a new book series being designed reportedly to respond to the perceived role of ELT for the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) (Tweed and Som 2015). At present, international assistance (both financial and professional) is still needed. While some aid initiatives have now been terminated, others remain in place and new ones are being implemented, especially to help strengthen Cambodian teachers' teaching and research capacity for the AEC (Tweed and Som 2015).

For the last two decades, as observed by Clayton (2006) and Moore and Bounchan (2010), we have seen a proliferation of ELT activities in Cambodia. Clayton (2006), for instance, noted the growth of private English classes in 600 schools serving approximately 500,000 Cambodians, compared to only a few dozens of such institutions in the early 1990s. Although official up-to-date figures are not available to the authors, as Cambodian teachers of English in this context for almost two decades we have observed the trend; English language educational activities have increased significantly. Most Cambodian children, at least those who live in the cities, start learning English as early as the age of three—a sociocultural situation also observed by the teachers reported in Boun (2014). Another ELT situation that has also changed dramatically involves the teachers. In the past, Cambodian students were taught more by the NES and/or 'international' ELT professionals, but now they are taught more by their fellow Cambodian (both locally and overseas trained) professionals across the nation (Moore and Bounchan 2010). However, what seems to endure the passage of time is the perpetual use of the NES materials—the syllabus-like tools thought to provide what is needed for Cambodian students to learn and use English communicatively. Anecdotal evidence suggests that such materials remain the main teaching and learning resources in the private sector of all levels and in both the private and public sectors of the tertiary level.[2]

The sociocultural context, especially the one dealing with the ideology of the English language in the country, can in part explain why Cambodian teachers and learners continue to use the NES materials. English has traditionally been viewed as a foreign language for Cambodians (MOEYS 2004). This English as a foreign language (EFL) status entails communication in English carried out between Cambodians and the NES (Jenkins 1998). Therefore, assuming that it is the 'target language' cultural and moral values that make for effective communication, it is

logical to conclude that Cambodian learners of English aim for the NES cultural knowledge so that, with it, they can communicate 'effectively' with the NES. However, concomitantly the current socio-political situation in Cambodia also suggests that the NES cultural and moral norms do not necessarily apply. In other words, as an active member of ASEAN and given strong efforts of ASEAN leaders to strengthen the AEC that would bring ASEAN into becoming a truly multicultural and multilingual economic region, Cambodian learners (and the populace more generally) would envisage communication in English between Cambodians and the ASEAN peoples more often than that between Cambodians and the NES. This situation brings the ASEAN Englishes and cultures to the fore (see Lim 2016, for a related argument). It is now the ASEAN Englishes that should be seen as the 'target language'—a variation with sets of diverse linguistic, moral, and cultural values that should make its way into ELT materials.

This short sociocultural review of the development of Cambodian ELT provides not only a glimpse of the Cambodian ELT development, but also a prediction of the increasing popularity of this field for decades to come. Nevertheless, as already mentioned, the use of NES-value-laden materials in Cambodian ELT remains perpetual. These materials are the dominant point of reference for Cambodian teachers to teach English, due in part to the prevalent view of EFL in the country. It is this very problem that motivates us to conduct the present study. In the section that follows, we report on a case study of Cambodian teachers of English in a tertiary educational context, focusing on the use of *Progressive Skills in English* textbook series (Phillips and Phillips 2011).

3 The Study

The main focus of our study is to understand, from an emic point of view, the teachers' experiences of the NES cultural and moral values as they go about handling cultural contents found in their ELT textbooks. We frame our investigation as a case study guided by the following areas: (1) the teachers' conceptions of the status of English in their working contexts, (2) cultural and moral aspects in the *Progressive Skills in English* textbook series the teachers used to teach English in a bachelor's degree program rendered by an ELT institute in Phnom Penh, and (3) teachers' decisions about and (reported) approaches to these aspects in the materials that they used. Based on our findings presented below, we aim to understand how the teachers' cognitions are interrelated to their working environments: their textbooks, their students, and their cultural contexts. By interpreting the teachers' experiences from an emic perspective and framing such an interpretation within its socio-political contexts, we come to understand the teachers' struggles and confrontations in handling cultural and moral values they encounter in using their ELT materials. Such understanding also allows us to identify gaps and interrelationships between the teachers, the teaching materials, the status of the language being taught and learnt (as the subject-matter), and the sociocultural and socio-political environments in

which the teachers live and work and in which the teaching and learning take place. Within a sociocultural framework adopted in this study, such a practice is mediated by conceptual tools (Wertsch 1991) such as the EFL vs. English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) concepts (cf., Swan 2012; Widdowson 2012).

3.1 Conceptual Framework

In this study, we adopt the concepts of culture discussed in Yuen (2011). Yuen's discussion drew on Brody's (2003) concept of culture, viewed as a capitalized 'Culture' and a lower-cased 'culture.' The former is perceived as a "product of Civilization" while the latter is perceived as the way of life of a group of people (Brody 2003, p. 39). Yuen (2011) explains that these two concepts of culture are categorised by 'product' and 'practice' respectively, and that they are objective culture. Yuen also points to another factor which characterises culture. This is referred to as 'perspective,' which, according to Yuen (2011), is values and beliefs that members of a group or society have about the world they live in. This kind of culture is subjective. Drawing upon Moran's (2001, p. 25) notion that "persons" oftentimes represents culture, Yuen argues for 'person' as another factor which also characterises culture. Thus, to exemplify these concepts of culture in our ELT context, textbooks can be viewed as a form of the product, the use of the textbooks for instructional activities as a form of the practice, and the teachers' espoused values of and beliefs about the textbooks and their decisions to respond to the contents therein as a form of the perspective. We use these cultural concepts to guide our investigation of the cultural contents in the ELT textbooks by examining how a group of Cambodian teachers perceived the values of the textbooks and what beliefs they held about cultural contents found within them. In our study, we also use the phrase 'foreign cultural aspects' to encompass all those that are 'non-Cambodian' ones. Boun 2014, also reports that the Cambodian teachers in his study used the term 'foreign teachers' to mean 'native speaker teachers' of English.

The concept of morality or moral values in ELT is, however, more problematic to define and operationalise for the purpose of the present study. This difficulty is also recognised by Johnston et al. (1998), who frame their research on ESL teacher as a 'moral agent' within a general conception of morality. They define it as sense or knowledge of what is right and what is wrong and of what is bad and what is good. They note that morality is intertwined with culture, and in adult ESL classes "the explicit teaching of morality rarely plays a part in the classroom" (ibid., p. 164). With this conception of morality in mind, we approach the teachers' views about cultural and moral issues in ELT materials and interpret them together under 'culture.' That is, we view morality or moral issues as subsumed within the concept of culture(s).

According to Holliday (1994), "English language teaching produces a culture within the classroom" (p. 23), and following Johnston's (2003) notion, "teaching is always and inevitably a profoundly value-laden undertaking" (p. 12); that is, teachers and materials all are moral agents in the teaching and learning process (Johnston

et al. 1998). They bring with them their own cultural values into a world of language teaching and learning. In this regard, one way to understand cultural education in an ELT context is to study cultural contents laid out in the materials or textbooks used in ELT and how the teachers think about such contents. Cultural contents in textbooks, unlike such other elements as vocabulary and grammar, have not always been spelled out as an explicit element of the materials. In fact, they are usually embedded with other elements, such as reading and listening passages. The ways the teachers respond to such cultural artefacts have been found to be influenced by the individual teachers' perspectives they have acquired through the trajectories of their learning, working, and living situations, and by the culture of the host educational institutions—altogether conceived of here as the broader sociocultural environments that shape the teaching activity itself. Thus, morality is unstable and context-bound (Johnston 2003) and needs to be understood in situ. Adopting a sociocultural view of learning, we posit that teachers' conceptualisations and views about a particular phenomenon, for instance the status of English or the role of culture in language education, are largely shaped by the social situation in which the teachers develop personally and professionally. This theoretical assumption helped frame our investigation of the role of culture in Cambodian ELT by placing it in its proper situation, hence in situ understanding of teacher cognition and practice. However, in the literature of cultural or moral education in ELT, such an assumption is rarely spelled out as indicated by the literature review below.

3.2 Literature Review

Cultural elements embedded in the ELT materials have been the focus of research studies on second or foreign language (critical) pedagogy at least for the last three decades. Such a focus deals directly with the critical view of pedagogy or ideology and the status of English itself. Within the critical pedagogy framework, the debate is on critical evaluation of cultural values imported to the learners' home country through the use of Western textbooks (e.g., the NES materials). For example, Abdollahzadeh and Baniasad (2010) argue that there may be political and ideological implications for foreign language learning. Such implications can be realized through the use of imported textbooks which, as they assert, "are parts of a system enforcing a sense of responsibility, morality and cultural coherence. As such, textbooks used in EFL classrooms provide the primary source of information on culture and language for those studying a language" (p. 3). In this regard, Tseng (2002) argues for the inclusion of cultural aspects into EFL/ESL curriculum because such a component could enhance the learners' learning progress, asserting that "successful language learning requires language users to know the culture that underlies language" (p. 12).

Within the language-status framework, on the other hand, English language has assumed different statuses—be it EFL, ESL, ELF or English as an international language (EIL), due to the historical contexts and current socio-political developments. With ELF/EIL status that renders English as belonging to no one particular

country or system, the pedagogical implications of teaching the language embrace diverse cultures of the NNES themselves. This framework puts forth the necessity of having cultural values that reflect not only those of the NES countries but also those of other countries that use English as a means of intercultural communication in the international arena (cf., Kirkpatrick 2010a). McKay (2000), for instance, submits that in promoting the learners' knowledge of interculturality, it is important to ensure that the learners are able to use the target language to express their own cultures and to relate such cultures to those of the target language. As far as the contents of the ELT materials are concerned, McKay presents three possible scenarios: the materials with cultural contents of the target language, of the source language (or of the learners), and of the international language (a diversity of cultural contents representing countries using English, as many as possible). To this end, as McKay (2000, p. 9) puts it, "as with all language teaching materials, what to include as content depends on the background and goals of the students and teacher."

Shin et al. (2011) also suggest that "textbooks should incorporate learners' diverse racial and cultural backgrounds and empower them to identify different voices and perspectives" (p. 253). They point out that with the opportunity to use the target language to talk or write about their own cultures or experiences, the learners are placed in a better position to enhance their language skills. Such an exponent of the inclusion of the local culture echoes previous calls found in Alptekin and Alptekin (1984), Prodromou (1988), and Adaskou et al. (1990). Furthermore, García (2005) comments that the (re)presentations of cultural similarities and differences in ELT materials would allow the EFL learners to draw connections between their cultural values with those of other countries around the world. This drawing of connections, as she suggests, motivates a successful learning process. There is increasing support amongst scholars for the role of cultural diversity in ELT. However, Yuen's (2011) examination of foreign cultural contents in the ELT textbooks in terms of their frequency of occurrence shows that "cultures of native English speaking countries [appeared] most frequently and those of the Asian and African less frequently" (p. 462). This is a finding similar to that of Shin et al. (2011), who reported that cultural contents of Kachru's (1992) World Englishes inner circle were represented much more than those of the other circles (i.e., the outer and expanding circles)—collectively labelled as the NNES countries.

As can be observed in this review, there are two strands of research in this area—one dealing with critical pedagogy or ideology of the target language, and the other the status of English. None of these research foci, however, seem to take into account the teachers, thus ignoring an important cultural agent in the ELT practice. This underrepresented strand of research that deals with cultural aspects in ELT materials touches upon the teachers' cognitions about and practices of such issues. Research on language teacher cognition—defined as teacher beliefs, knowledge, and thinking—has gained tremendous interest amongst language teacher education scholars (see Borg 2006; Burns and Richards 2009), but in the area of cultural values in ELT materials, such a research tradition remains scarce. Outside the Cambodian ELT context, there are however some studies. Abdollahzadeh and Baniasad (2010), for instance, find that most teachers are indeed aware of most of the ideologies presented

in the textbooks but that the teachers are reported to have less inclination to promoting such ideologies and cultural values amongst their students.

In a Vietnamese context, Ha and Linh (2013) report on three cases of ELT teachers who experience tensions as they are confronted with moral dilemmas. The authors found that through ELT, the teachers encountered Western conceptual values such as the teacher being the facilitator "as a particular and tangible expression of Western discourse of 'democracy', 'freedom' and 'student-teacher equality'" (p. 232). An interesting case reported therein was how a Vietnamese teacher negotiated moral values in teaching English in their context; that is, the teacher in question viewed his act of scolding the students as a facilitating action. The authors explain that "in this way, [the teacher] performed as expected by the profession as a whole, by universalized ELT professionals and by Vietnamese teacher professionalism embedded in the social and cultural norms that surrounded him" (p. 232). This particular finding reflects the in situ characteristic of teachers' cognitions about cultural aspects in ELT practice.

In Cambodian ELT contexts, research on teacher cognition is extremely limited, let alone such research vis-à-vis cultural education, despite the fact that the field itself has evolved to where the language is now taught by the local Cambodian teachers more than it used to be two decades ago (Moore and Bounchan 2010). That is, Cambodian ELT classroom settings are, to a large extent, constructed by the local Cambodian English teachers and students and through the ELT materials they use in the teaching and learning process. Therefore, understanding the teachers' cognitive processes or mental lives (as is generally known in this research domain) about their teaching actions helps us understand the very process of teaching. This is a gap that our research seeks to fill as it aims to highlight a group of Cambodian teachers' cognitions about and (reported) approaches to classroom practices in dealing with foreign cultural values found in their classroom ELT textbooks. Also left unexplored in the present context is how cultural education may be related to how teachers conceptualise the status of English they teach as a subject, for example teaching English as a foreign language in Cambodia (cf., Nault 2006, regarding the goals of culture teaching in ELT contexts). To capture such a relationship, one needs to conduct an analysis that takes account of the sociocultural and socio-political landscapes of the linguistic realities within the context of the research in question. Hence, the problematisation of the contemporary Cambodian ELT discussed in Sect. 2 functions as a backdrop for the present investigation and will be used in interpreting its data. To this end, we examine the following questions to guide our investigation:

1. What are the teachers' conceptions of the status of English and of the situation of ELT in contemporary Cambodia?
2. Are these Cambodian teachers aware of cultural aspects embedded in the textbooks they are using?
3. To what extent are they aware of such aspects and how do they respond to them?

3.3 Methodology

The study took place at a higher educational institution in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, that offered a number of bachelor's and master's degree programs. The course relevant to the present study was a core academic subject taught to the first, second, and third year undergraduate students who were studying towards the award of either a bachelor's of education in teaching English as a foreign (B.Ed. in TEFL) or a bachelor's of arts in English for Work Skills (B.A. in English). This course, called Core English (CE), was divided in terms of year levels. That is, CE1 was for Year 1 students, CE2 for Year 2 students, and CE3 for Year 3 students. While CE1 used *Progress Skills in English Book 2* (Phillips and Phillips 2011), CE2, and CE3 used the *New Headway Series* (Soars and Soars 2011), respectively labelled as *upper-intermediate* and *advanced levels*. As mentioned earlier, these materials are internationally imported.

All 18 Cambodian teachers of English who formed the entire cohort of CE teachers at the institution were contacted purposefully to participate in the study, but only seven agreed and returned their signed information and consent forms. Of these seven teachers whose codenames in this study are CET1, CET2, CET3, CET4, CET5, CET6, and CET7, six held a master's degree in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) or in Higher Education, and one (CET6) held the B.Ed. in TEFL from the involved institution, at the time of the study. Of the six master's degree holders, two were overseas-trained graduates and the other four graduated from local universities. The teacher participants had been teaching English at the English Department of that institution for between 3 and 6 years. As soon as they graduated from their bachelor's degree program from the department, they were recruited to teach English to undergraduate students there. At the time of the study, some of these teachers were teaching Core English subject at different year levels, thus using the textbooks mentioned above. For the present chapter, we only report on the use of *Progressive Skills* textbook.

The present case study employed semi-structured interviews as social interactions (Mann 2010) between one of the researchers and the teacher participants to collect the latter's verbal reports on their views about and approaches to cultural issues in their classroom textbook. The interview questions were designed to elicit the participants' views but were open for probing. With the participants' consents, the interviews, each of which lasting between 30 and 45 min, were audio-recorded and transcribed for the analysis purposes. The researcher who conducted the field visits also produced participant observation notes that formed part of this qualitative data set. Another set of the data was documentation, namely the textbook itself and teacher-made teaching materials. We looked for cultural contents, particularly in the reading and listening passages, juxtaposing identified cultural contents with the teachers' views about them. During the interviews, the teachers were given options about the language choice. They chose to speak in English, and English was also used in the documents collected.

The analysis of the interview data followed Strauss's (1987) grounded theory in that we coded the data from the ground up, beginning with minimal discourses such as words and phrases to larger ones such as sentences and paragraphs. These coded data, for instance "English is taught in Cambodia as a foreign language rather than a second language", were then compared across the participants' data sets. Following Strauss's guidelines, we adopted the "open coding" method by analysing the data intensively, but at the same time we also used the "overview approach" to begin with (Strauss 1987, pp. 28–31). For example, we began with readings and re-readings of the interview transcripts to gain the overall meaning of each participant's intended message before breaking the data down through the processes of coding and re-coding. Verbal accounts reflecting the teachers' cognitions about and approaches to cultural values in the ELT textbooks were analysed axially in that we concentrated on key concepts or categories in order to identify Strauss's (1987, pp. 27–28) "coding paradigm", e.g., "conditions" and "consequences." To illustrate, the concept of 'the role of culture in language instruction' was analysed in terms of its relation to the conditions or circumstances in which the teachers interpreted their teaching actions. Such circumstances were identified to link to 'the status of English' as perceived by the teachers themselves. Coded categories were then compared amongst and between themselves and with data from the field-notes and the textbook contents. The analysis of the *Progressive Skills in English Book 2,* regarded as the NES materials, extrapolated Shin et al.'s (2011) to illuminate the foreign or non-Cambodian cultural aspects embedded therein. Finally, adopting a sociocultural view of the development of human thoughts (Vygotsky 1978; Wertsch 1985, 1991), we interpreted the teachers' emic meanings within the sociocultural and socio-political contexts in which the teachers worked and lived.

4 Findings

The teacher participants were asked during their interviews to share their opinions about the status of the English language in Cambodia. Among the seven teacher participants, five were of the view that English was a foreign language, echoing the generally received view of the status of the language. One teacher believed that it was an international language, and another teacher, however, failed to provide his response to this matter. The one teacher who attributed English in Cambodia to the EIL status cited the uses of English in such domains as "politics, business, diplomacy, and education" as a means of communicating with those individuals who do not speak Khmer. More interesting, conceptualising EIL in their context, the teacher believed that "the majority of [Cambodian students] will use English in Cambodia so they should be able to talk about things [in] Cambodia" (CET3-Interview). On the other hand, for those who held the EFL view, English was not seen as being used widely in daily communications, which had not yet replaced the status of Khmer language, but the native-speaker norms (e.g., grammar and cultural values) prevailed as the frame of pedagogical reference. As discussed shortly later in Sect. 5,

these espoused beliefs have their pedagogical implications, regarding multicultural and multilingual communications in the present context.

When asked whether they were aware of any existence of foreign cultural aspects in the textbook they were using, the teachers had mixed views, reporting that they were more or less aware of the presence of such cultural elements. They identified these elements as foreign cultural aspects—values that did not reflect Cambodian cultures. They accounted for their views on this matter by the fact that the textbook's authors were all "foreigners," thus bringing about Western or foreign cultural aspects into the ELT materials. CET3, for instance, reported that "I think the textbook is pretty much uh British." Nonetheless, generally, the teachers appeared to hold favourable attitudes towards such foreign cultural aspects. Particularly, CET4, CET6, and CET7, whose recognition of the existence of cultural aspects signalled their positive attitudes, believed that the students did not only learn the language but also the cultures of the people from various backgrounds projected in the textbooks. They believed that such cultures expanded their students' general knowledge, forming part of their communicative repertoire.

In addition, CET3 and CET4 also viewed the textbooks as a platform providing opportunities for their students to bring connections between their Cambodian cultures and non-Cambodian ones, a positive view of cultural similarities and differences in enhancing the language learning experience. To accommodate these learning opportunities, in effect, these teachers reported that they frequently brought the students' own cultural background into their lessons through personalised discussions (*CET2, CET3, CET5, CET6, and CET7 Interviews*). CET2, for instance, pointed out the positive design of the textbook stating that "in the books, after the students learned the text containing Western culture or foreign cultural aspects, there are discussion questions for students to link to their own cultural aspects" (*CET2 Interview*). The analysis of the textbooks also revealed that in listening passages, for instance, personalising students' experiences was promoted. The following short excerpt extracted from a *Progressive Skills Book 2* listening transcript of a talk about births, marriages, and deaths shows how such personalisation was incorporated into listening activities:

> *(…) What are the origins of rituals? Anthropologists say that rituals are a way of talking to God (or the gods). People come together to celebrate or remember something. For example, there are harvest festivals at the end of the summer in many countries. They thank God for the harvest. They want God to send the sun and the rain. Then they will have a good harvest the next year, too.*
>
> ***Are traditional festivals dying in your country?*** *In the past, parents taught their children about the procedures. They were passed down from one generation to the next. But nowadays, modern societies in some countries are losing the rituals of the past. (Progressive Skills Book 2, p. 175)*

There are other listening activities designed to model the students to use English to personalise their cultural experiences. Presented below is another example from a listening passage about festivals. That listening passage is presented after the students listen to a number of talks about festivals in such countries as Japan, the

United States, and Mexico. This listening passage is understood to bring about the students' personalised learning experiences.

Voice A: *Are there any traditional festivals in your country?*
Voice B: *Yes, we have one in the summer. It's called Noc Swietojanska in Polish. I like it a lot.*
Voice A: *Sorry? Did you say Noc?*
Voice B: *Yes. It means 'night'. Saint John's Night. We celebrate the longest day of the year, and the shortest night. It's on the 23rd of June.*
Voice A: *We celebrate that in my country too. What do you do exactly?*
Voice B: *Well, people dress in colourful traditional clothes. There is music, dancing and fireworks. The young women make wreaths of flowers with candles on them. (Progressive Skills Book 2, p. 178)*

Activities such as these (including also those found in reading activities) appeared to have been designed to help students bring about cultural discussions amongst themselves using the target language.

However, the teachers reported that at times they avoided focusing on such discussions, citing limited cultural knowledge on the part of both the students and the teachers themselves. The teachers recounted that their limited cultural knowledge prevented them from promoting cultural lessons in the classrooms. CET1, for example, commented that whenever he recognised that the content of a reading passage or a listening text was difficult because of its cultural background knowledge, he was likely to skip it. He believed that cultural texts "are too difficult for the students to understand so we just skipped the activities" altogether (*CET1 Interview)*. The teachers also linked their decision to abandon cultural contents to the students' preferred lessons. CET3, for instance, went on to argue that his students did not seem to find interest in working on cultural texts even when, he observed, some of them were familiar with the cultural topic in question. The teacher stressed that when the lesson focused on grammar or vocabulary, the students enjoyed it better.

> *…a lot of students do not know about other countries' cultures so it is difficult for them to share. And a lot of them = some of them know but they don't seem to think that it is useful for them to share…But when it comes to discussing grammar, discussing vocabulary, everybody seems to be excited and pay attention to the worksheet and handout and do exercises. [But] when it comes to discussion, talking about cultural issue or talking about things that are related to [this], they don't seem so excited. This is my experience teaching, you know, one class …here. (CET3 Interview)*

We found that the teachers' limited cultural knowledge inhibited the teachers' ability to deal with cultural contents in their ELT teaching materials and created tensions on their part. The following excerpts illustrate such tensions:

> *…So then certain kind of information or certain kind of context seem to be not very common for us and we find- sometimes we find it hard to understand the text itself, I mean as a teacher because we don't actually understand the culture or the [cultural] context …(CET6 Interview)*

> *…but sometimes we find it hard to understand what is mainly about because of our [limited] existing knowledge. [It is] to do with the background information. (CET7 Interview)*

Trying to rectify the situation, the teachers reported that they sought access to cultural information from various sources, including from the Internet, to stay informed so that they could handle cultural contents in their materials. For instance, CET7 reported that:

> *So if I find it hard to understand and then it's hard for me to come up with [explanations], so if I see this is so culture-based, I try to read more so that I have some points, if not many, some points or a few points to explain the meaning in class (CET7 Interview)*

Another solution the teachers reported they sought was to incorporate their students' cultural values into the discussions of the foreign culture by means of personalising the students' experiences and by letting them talk about their cultures and the local cultural events (briefly presented earlier). For example, CET4 argued that his students became active and engaging in talking about Cambodian culture although he was aware that his students wanted to focus more on language aspects such as vocabulary and grammar (*CET4 Interview*).

However, deeper analysis of their elaborations on the decision to set aside cultural contents revealed another more compelling rationale: the test-oriented teaching goal in their ELT activities. It became clear with these teachers' arguments that the purpose of using the textbooks was not to teach students those cultural aspects. Rather, they were to teach the students (about) the language: vocabulary, grammar, and language skills. CET1, for instance, explained that the activities containing foreign cultural elements were irrelevant to the teaching goal and that they would not help his students to be familiar with IELTS or TOEFL. To this effect, he often replaced cultural activities with his own—the ones that he believed would prepare his students for their semester examinations.

> *Yeah it's like the skills – skill 1, skill 2, skill 3. Because we think that before we give our students listening test, or semester listening, they are not familiar with IELTS or TOEFL and* ***if they just count on the listening in the text book, it's got to be quite [a] disaster****. So it's like we prepare the students for the test. I think this is the only way we commonly do, you know…I think I sometimes also have [other] activities. (CET1 Interview)*

The highlighted sentence in the above quote reflects CET1's attitude towards the listening activities (such as the ones extracted from the *Progressive Skills Book 2*, presented earlier). That is, activities that fostered cultural discussions were in fact deemed by these Cambodian teachers as 'disastrous' to the goal of teaching and learning English in their contexts.

The test-oriented teaching goal, which focused heavily on linguistic aspects, was a common teaching pursuit shared by other teachers, even for those who did not directly participate in this study. The analysis of the field-notes produced by one of the authors during his field visits revealed that textbook activities that were not grammar-oriented were deemed inappropriate for their context. From a 'subject technical' meeting conducted by a group of CE teachers who co-taught the subject using *Progressive Skills Book 2*, the following field-note substantiates this finding, where 'I' refers to the researcher who conducted the field visits:

> *Today, 30 January 2013, I joined in the meeting with CE1 lecturers at 5:00 p.m. From their discussion, I learned that the majority of lecturers viewed Progressive Skills 2 to be not*

> *appropriate for teaching English in their context. They said that they couldn't use the textbook because it did not have grammar lessons and that they found it difficult to deal with the contents in the textbook. I found out that most lecturers did not follow this textbook, and, instead, they supplemented grammar lessons from various grammar resource books to teach their students. (A field-note: 30-01-13)*

This test-oriented teaching goal was identified in connection with the teacher's role, the status of the workplace and with their personal experiences—altogether constituting a sociocultural analytical framework. Some teachers stated explicitly that because the institution where they worked was a "language" institute, their utmost goal to teaching their students was therefore to teach the language itself. Some other teachers established their goal in teaching English with the influence of their perceived role as a *language* teacher, meaning that they were to teach their students the language and only the language, not culture or moral values. As their farthermost goal in teaching English to their students was firmly established, the participants aimed to help their students to gain high-level English proficiency (*CET4, CET6, CET7 Interviews*) and to be "competent" users of the language (*CET1, CET2, CET4 Interviews*), where being competent here meant conforming to the native-speaker linguistic norms (see also Seidlhofer and Jenkins 2003; Widdowson 2012). These aims, as were reported by the teachers, would be attained through the teaching of grammar, vocabulary, and such macro skills as reading, listening, and speaking—and not the cultural elements. Most participants did not report that they focused on teaching writing skill because there was a separate course designed for this purpose—Writing Skills Subject. Some of these teachers (particularly CET1, CET2, and CET3) reported that they also aimed for their students to have correct pronunciation, to become independent learners, and to be equipped with adequate testing strategies for such standardised tests as IELTS and TOEFL. These teachers perceived these linguistic elements of paramount importance for high-level English proficiency.

Teaching the students content knowledge that encapsulates cultural values embedded in the materials was not reported as one of the teaching goals, despite their expressed acknowledgement that cultural knowledge did play a positive role in promoting the students' learning of English. CET2, for instance, stated bluntly that he did not care about the content of the texts, be they listening or reading texts. His role, he went on, was to assist his students to learn the language and use it correctly.

> *The point is when I teach a particular text, for example related to economy, a festival or a foreign culture, I do not really intend for the students to know about that culture. What I want when teaching such a kind of text is for the students to be able to use the language properly or in an acceptable manner [i.e., grammatically correct]. (CET2 Interview)*

Teaching English, to these teachers, meant teaching their students to score better in such tests as IELTS and TOEFL. These teachers reported that they would replace cultural contents with practice tests extracted from these two common sources: IELTS and TOEFL practice tests.

> *So I'd replace [cultural texts with] the listening materials and the listening materials [were] sometimes from IELTS and sometimes from TOEFL, right.* ***But it's like listening practice, you know, listening practice****. (CET1 Interview)*

> *In addition to the textbooks I also prepare my- prepare some of my lessons by using- by having access to the other resources like reading. When I'm teaching reading, for the test, you know, for the test at the end of the semester (…) we use like short reading TOEFL texts which share the common topic with the theme in our textbook. (CET4 Interview)*

> *Especially for practice and for listening mainly I cover on- I mean besides this I focus on IELTS and TOEFL so there must be more materials to do with that. (CET7 Interview)*

For CET1, who said "it's like listening practice, you know, listening practice," the use of listening materials from IELTS and TOEFL was solely to help his students practice the kind of tests, and nothing else. The cultural aspects embedded in those materials, as he implied, did not matter. For CET4 and CET7, as shown in the above quotes, IELTS and TOEFL practice tests were always "there," ready to replace the textbook's cultural activities the teachers deemed irrelevant.

The present study found that the teachers defined their instructional goals strictly related to their students' performance in such tests as IELTS and TOEFL, which engulfed their instructional activities; cultural education did not form part of these teachers' teaching goals. At the same time, their teaching goals also appeared to be intertwined with their own knowledge about foreign cultures.

5 Discussion

As we need to make sense of these teachers' views about cultural values in their ELT materials and how those views gave rise to their (reported) practice, we map interconnections between the themes found in our analysis and the sociocultural and socio-political contexts of the teachers' works and lives. Our assumption is that cultural aspects (both those of the target and source languages) play a key role in English learning and (intercultural) communication in the present context of Cambodia and that of ASEAN as a whole region. However, we also go a step further; we situate our investigation and analysis within the ASEAN context of ELF, juxtaposing our interpretation of the findings with the current development of the sociolinguistic landscape of the region in which Cambodia plays a significant part.

One of the major themes emerging from the analysis of these teachers' data is their perceptions of the status of English. As they viewed English as a foreign language, their views entail teaching English for pragmatic purposes, particularly for high performance in standardised tests such as IELTS and TOEFL. These perceptions seem consistent with the students' motivation to learn English in this present context, a finding found in Lim (2012). Lim surveyed a group of students from this very context and found out that the students learned English for instrumental and pragmatic purposes, a characteristic of EFL contexts. This can be referred to as distributed perceptions of the Cambodian ELT practitioners. That is, both the teach-

ers and the students hold the same received view about the status of EFL in Cambodia and what they need from learning it, which, in this study, was to teach students to conform to the native-speaker linguistic norms. Moreover, when cultural aspects were discussed during their interviews, the majority of the teachers attributed their characteristics to the native-speakers' cultural norms, as indicated by such expressions as "American […] British [or] Western" cultures.

Relating this finding to the two research frameworks mentioned earlier in the literature—one dealing with critical pedagogy and the other with ELF/EIL—it can be said that the teachers in this context did not seem to take account of the critical pedagogy or cultural education. In other words, it appears that the teachers in this study did not believe that the practice of ELT is relevant to the notional threat to national identity (cf., Kirkpatrick 2010a), nor did they aim to help their students to be more knowledgeable about foreign cultural issues or to have intercultural competence. Although some teachers talked about aiming for their students to be competent users of the language, they strictly meant grammatical competency, again, which conforms to the native-speaker linguistic norms. No (inter)cultural competency could be interpreted as the intended aim in their ELT practice.

The 'problematisation' of Cambodian ELT at the beginning of this chapter points to the sociocultural and socio-political situations in Cambodia and the region as the overarching landscape that shapes the status of English and the practice of its pedagogy. According to Clayton (2006) and Chea et al. (2012), for Cambodia, English is a lingua franca or a language for wider communication. It is also referred to as an EIL, as reported in Moore and Bounchan (2010). The pronouncement of English to be the sole official language for ASEAN communication is another testament of ELF or EIL for Cambodia. However, such a sociolinguistic 'reality' does not seem to be shared by the teachers in this study who believed otherwise that English in Cambodia remained a foreign language, a received view implicitly imposed by the country's MOEYS policy (MOEYS 2004). MOEYS itself upholds the EFL view that can be seen as the result of the historical development of Cambodian ELT (see T. Clayton (2002, 2006), S. Clayton (2008), and Neau (2003)). This situation creates dissonance between the teachers' and MOEYS' views and the present sociopolitical context of the English language in Cambodia and ASEAN as a whole. It is this dissonance that inhibits the realisation of the cultural dimensions of ELT in this context because, on the one hand, the EFL view seems to offer the teachers a monolithic (and linguistic) framework while, on the other hand, the ELF/EIL view for ASEAN countries can project a more diverse and multicultural point of reference with which the teachers can use in their work (e.g., Kirkpatrick 2010a, 2014).

Another connected theme arrived at from the analysis of the teachers' interview data was the teachers' strictly defined instructional goal. That is, as they reported, cultural knowledge either of the English speaking worlds or of the students themselves did not seem to play a central role (although it was indeed reported to have a role) in English language teaching and learning. These teachers primarily aimed to teach the language and only the language, broadly and also vaguely seen by these teachers as encapsulating grammar, vocabulary, and the four macro-skills (speaking, listening, reading, and writing), a finding that falls in line with Abdollahzadeh

and Baniasad's (2010). These views are seen to be consistent with the institutional objective statements addressed for the Core English subject itself, in which the main aims are to improve the students' linguistic competence in grammar, vocabulary, and macro skills (*Student Information Booklet* 2013). Therefore, the current practice of ELT and English language education in Cambodia, especially in the context of this study, can be understood to be reflecting the institutional goal(s). In other words, the institutional goals influence the ways the teachers treat cultural contents in their textbook. Therefore, the teachers' exclusive focus on teaching only the language aspects (encompassing grammar, vocabulary, and skills rather than any other elements such as cultural aspects) constitutes a culture of practice of the ELT in contemporary Cambodia (Holliday 1994; Johnston 2003).

The role of textbooks and those cultural elements found therein appears to be less relevant for the ELT world defined by our teachers in this study that resulted from the teachers' limited cultural knowledge itself. As we reported earlier, when the teachers found out that they could not handle the activities with embedded foreign cultural elements, due to their limited cultural knowledge, they generally replaced those activities with supplementary ones whose aims were to enhance their students' practice of test-taking skills, the latter being more compelling to an instructional goal. Taking Adaskou et al.'s (1990) conclusion into consideration, we can regard this 'compelling' teaching aim as an effective, cultural and moral way to teaching English in the Cambodian ELT context. That is, as we interpret this finding in terms of the cultural education in ELT, we recall Johnston et al.'s (1998) discussion about 'the teaching of morality and the morality of teaching.' The fact that these Cambodian teachers disregarded cultural contents in their teaching materials could be understood as their morality of teaching English. Cultural instruction was not what their students wanted, and it would not be 'right' either if they embody it. The students enjoyed learning English grammar, vocabulary, and language skills. That is, it appears that for these teachers to teach their students, these *language* aspects was the *cultural* and *moral* thing to do.

Nevertheless, the teachers' strictly defined instructional goal of ELT effectively reduces the complexity of language learning, language teaching, and the language itself to the mere accumulation of grammar, vocabulary, and language skills. It undermines the communicative and cultural dimensions of the language. Learning a language, no matter if it is a foreign, second, or international language, means learning its cultural and moral values for effective communication (e.g., Kramsch 1991), but this conviction invokes the original problem put forth in this study. Is English still a foreign language? Is it now a lingua franca? If it is a lingua franca, what are the implications for Cambodian ELT? These are important questions when it comes to (socio)cultural education in the Cambodian ELT because they raise another equally vital question: whose cultures should they be? Given the momentum of the role of English in ASEAN, the status of English in Cambodia is most certainly not a mere foreign language—a naïve concept apparently shared by most teachers in this study and the policy-making institution (MOEYS) itself, however. We argue, therefore, that the Cambodian ELT has reached a transitional stage where

English essentially and practically is a lingua franca for ASEAN and beyond. This transition should (re)define the practice of Cambodian ELT as to how cultural education can be part of it so that ASEAN inter- and cross-cultural communication in English can be achieved.

6 Practical Directions for ELT Materials Developments

In the light of the findings and discussions presented above, we present below some practical directions for English materials developments in the present context. However, it is worth repeating that the assumption that we hold in outlining these directions rests in the role culture(s) can contribute to favourable teaching and learning experiences. This assumption is situated within a broad sociocultural and sociopolitical situation of Cambodia, i.e., the ASEAN community, that delimits the sociolinguistic realities or landscapes of English language learning, teaching, and use in the region and beyond. In other words, this assumption posits that the ASEAN community, an overarching socio-political situation, shapes how English is used, learnt, and taught in ASEAN countries, in a way similar to, for example, how cultural elements in Japanese ELT have been shaped (Hino 2012). Essentially, it presupposes the role of English as a lingua franca (cf., Kirkpatrick 2010a). Consequently, the directions for ELT materials developments we delineate below invoke some pre-requisites Cambodian ELT stakeholders should bear so that their teaching activities can be meaningful and run parallel with the evolving nature of English for communication in Cambodia and ASEAN more generally.

- The first pre-requisite for ELT materials developments to be meaningful given the present discussions is to raise the awareness of concerned stakeholders of the ELT enterprise. These stakeholders include policy makers, curriculum developers, teachers and students—who need to understand that culture(s) can contribute to favourable and successful language learning. Language and culture have long been recognised as inseparable phenomena in language learning and teaching (e.g., Kramsch 1991). The teachers' decisions to abandon cultural elements of their ELT lessons, as have been reported in this chapter, were thus worrisome. As a result, they should be reminded of the importance of culture in language learning and in cross-cultural communication.
- Cambodian ELT practitioners and policy makers also need to comprehend the current nature of English that they are working with. Being aware of such a nature entails revisiting their own attitudes towards and ideologies about, for example, EFL vs. ELF in their working context (cf., Swan 2012; see also Widdowson 2012). Essentially, they "have to make decisions with regard to when, how, and what kind of English is to be taught" (Y. Kachru and Smith 2008, p. 178). As argued earlier, the kind of English for Cambodian ELT should be ASEAN Englishes and their diverse cultural aspects.

- Consequently, the target language and culture is not merely the English language that conforms to the 'native' speaker's linguistic and cultural norms (Kirkpatrick 2014; Seidlhofer and Jenkins 2003). It is not simply a 'foreign' language used in communication between Cambodians and 'foreigners,' generally known in Cambodia as the native speakers (such as the British or Americans). Such an assumption is what B. B. Kachru (2009, p. 184) refers to as "the interlocutor myth" of English language teaching and learning. In Cambodia, English can now be conceptualised as a language used for international and cross-cultural communication between ASEAN peoples and others. It follows, therefore, that cultural aspects in the teaching and learning materials should encompass the cultural norms of the ASEAN peoples more than those of Kachru's (1992) Inner Circle countries. While there will be challenges faced by Cambodian teachers and material developers alike as to what to include in their teaching materials due to the diverse cultural uniqueness of the region, there have been research on communication between users of ELF in ASEAN (e.g., Deterding 2013; Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006), the nature of English(es) in Asian contexts (e.g., Y. Kachru and Nelson 2006), and cultural aspects in world Englishes such as 'politeness' (e.g., Y. Kachru and Smith 2008).
- These writings can be used by and/or introduced to teachers and materials designers as references, on which they can draw for their practices. For example, in Y. Kachru and Nelson (2006, particularly Chapters 19 and 20), the notion of culture in Asian contexts is examined in relation to the "conventions of speaking and writing" across cultures and in Y. Kachru and Smith (2008), the meanings of 'politeness' or 'being polite' across cultures are discussed around 12 parameters, briefly: values, face, status, rank, role, power, age, sex, social distance, intimacy, kinship, and group membership. These cultural aspects can be translated into cultural contents in the ELT materials oriented to ELF in Cambodia.
- English teaching and learning materials and their developments in Cambodian ELT contexts have long been recognised as a domain that needs improving for effective English language education in Cambodia (e.g., Neau 2003). The present chapter has demonstrated that while this domain requires close attention from concerned stakeholders in the Cambodian ELT enterprise, it argues that the development of such materials should respond to current status of English in the country and the region.

7 Conclusion

The EIL/ELF research framework for cultural and moral education in ELT is relevant here. Some teachers in this study held some perspectives of the importance of (foreign) cultural knowledge in successful communication, but these teachers chose not to realise this aspect in their teaching. One of the reasons was because they themselves lacked such highly abstract and complex cultural knowledge. Another reason stemmed from their socioculturally received view about the status of English

as a foreign language in Cambodia, which essentially entailed a perspective of the ELT goals being strictly defined towards testing performance and linguistic competence. Cultural competence was not part of the picture. We argue therefore by embracing the ELF or EIL status in this context, the teachers, the students, administrators, policy makers, and curriculum designers are offered a broader perspective of the ELT goals. Considering this point, we propose that should we aim to embrace the ELF or EIL status in this context, these teachers essentially require additional training particularly in cultural knowledge of the target language and cultural issues in teaching the language. This also brings us back to the problem of what counts as the 'target language.' Should we agree that cultural values are pivotal in English language teaching and learning for ASEAN communication, ELT material developers need to take into account the ASEAN dynamic cultures and morality. In this regard, we argue that the various dimensions of ELT, for example, the linguistic, social, and cultural dimensions, need to be situated within their sociocultural and socio-political contexts. It follows therefore that the 'target language' for Cambodian ELT (as well as those of the other countries in the region) is the ASEAN Englishes.

8 Notes

1. More details about ELT historical development in Cambodia can be found in Neau (2003), Pit and Roth (2003) and T. Clayton (2006), or about the role of ELT in ASEAN integration, Stroupe and Kimura (2015).
2. Unlike the public secondary education, the public tertiary institutions are largely autonomous in deciding the types of materials to be used in teaching English. Additionally, the textbooks used in the public school system are locally published.

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Sovannarith Lim is a tenured teacher-trainer of English at the Phnom Penh Regional Teacher Training Centre, and a lecturer of applied linguistics at the Royal University of Phnom Penh, Cambodia. His research interests include language teacher education and teacher cognition within a sociocultural theory perspective, critical pedagogy, and English as a lingua franca/English as an international language. He is currently working on projects on human research ethics and English language teacher education in Cambodia.

Chan Narith Keuk is a coordinator of MA in TESOL Program and Research and lecturer of Applied Linguistics and Teaching Methodology of the Department of English of the Institute of Foreign Languages, Royal University of Phnom Penh, Cambodia. He obtained his PhD in Linguistics from Macquarie University, Australia, in 2015. His research interests include a variety of English used in contemporary Cambodia, the study of English language teachers and English language teaching education in an EFL context, and ELT teacher research.